



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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2 June 1992

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SPLA Factions Unite To Face Government

AB0106185092 London BBC World Service
in English 1515 GMT 1 Jun 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There does not appear to have been much of a change in positions between the Sudan Government on the one hand and the two SPLA [Sudanese People's Liberation Army] factions on the other at the peace talks in Abuja. But today, it seems there has been a significant breakthrough in relations between the John Garang and the Nasir factions of the SPLA. The main differences were about Garang's style of leadership and his insistence on a united, secular Sudan, while the Nasir faction were demanding separation for southern Sudan. On the line to Abuja, Robin White asked John Garang's spokesman, Bishop Muller, what had happened:

[Begin recording] [Muller] What happened today was that the two delegations of the SPLM [Sudanese People's Liberation Movement]-SPLA, the Nasir faction and the Torit faction, have merged today and we have formed one delegation to face the Sudan Government in these deliberations.

[White] Now, why did this happen?

[Muller] This happened because the Sudan Government could not yield to secularism. So, we had to take our second option, which is self-determination and the option of Nasir is also self-determination. So we are joined on terms of objective.

[White] So you two are now demanding a separate southern Sudan?

[Muller] Yes, we are demanding the right for self-determination, which means that the people of southern Sudan and the marginalized areas should have a referendum to decide whether they want to be in one united Sudan or a separate southern Sudan.

[White] So, can I get this right, Garang is no longer insisting on a united secular Sudan?

[Muller] Well, he cannot insist on a united secular Sudan if the government of Khartoum is not willing to have a secular Sudan.

[White] So this unity between your two movements, how long will it last, for just during these talks or for how long?

[Muller] No, this is the beginning of the unity in Abuja, and we intend to extend it to the field, and it should last longer and for ever.

[White] But meanwhile, on the field, you seem to be seriously losing the battle.

[Muller] That does not affect our negotiation stance at Abuja. We still remain firm on our demand for self-determination. If the reverse is happening in the field, it can also be reversed later on. It does not affect our political stance.

[White] Now, what chance do you think there is of reaching any kind of deal with the Khartoum government at this conference?

[Muller] Well, if the Khartoum government accepts our demand for self-determination, which will be determined by a referendum, then there can be an interim arrangement. But if the Khartoum government does not yield to our demand for self-determination, which is to be decided in a referendum, then I cannot see much that will come out of this conference. [end recording]

Rebel Factions Withdraw Demand for Referendum

AB0106223092 Paris AFP in French 2045 GMT
1 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Abuja, Nigeria, 1 Jun (AFP)—In order to prevent negotiations from breaking down, the two factions of the rebellion in southern Sudan made a major concession in Abuja today by agreeing to withdraw their demand for a referendum on self-determination from the agenda of the peace negotiations with the Khartoum Islamic regime.

The two factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), Colonel John Garang's "Torit" group and Lam Akol's "Nasir" group, had renounced this demand at the instance of Nigeria's head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida, the current OAU chairman, who organized the meeting, but renewed it again this morning in a joint communique. This was announced this evening by the spokesmen of the rebels and the Sudanese regime in Abuja. [passage omitted]

Through his intermediary, Foreign Minister Ike Nwachikwu, who addressed the delegates, Gen. Babangida urged rebel representatives to reconsider their positions to avoid a deadlock.

"We have a lot of respect for President Babangida and we do not want to disappoint him," said the spokesmen of the delegations.

Following this sudden turn, the conference set up a 15-man delegation (five for the regime in Khartoum, five for the rebels, and five for the Nigerian Government) that will try to draft "interim arrangements" for Sudan, the spokesmen further stated. The committee will discuss power and resource sharing, relations between the South and the central government, and security problems. The committee is chaired by Nigerian Internal Affairs Minister Tunji Olagunju, who is also the conference chairman. It will hold its first meeting tomorrow.

Moreover, the Nigerian Government has indicated that it would submit a report on Sudanese unity to this committee, based on Nigeria's experience and its efforts to preserve its unity and stability, the spokesmen added.

"Following this new development, we are on the way to reaching an agreement on some principles" which will help preserve Sudan's unity, said 'Ali al-Haj Muhammad, a spokesman of the government delegation.

*** Efforts To Set Up Regional Trade Bloc Viewed**

92AF0823A Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 30 Apr-7 May 92 p 25

[Article by Mondli Makhanya: "Moves Towards Regional Trading Bloc"]

[Text] Moves towards the establishment of a southern African trading bloc are gaining momentum.

Spurred by the solidifying regional blocs in other parts of the world—especially western Europe—member nations of the Preferential East African and South African Preferential Trade Areas [PTA] agreement and the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC] are working towards revitalising these bodies.

They hope to increase intraregional trade, which accounts for only about seven percent of the region's total trade at present. These organisations are also looking to much closer cooperation with the Southern African Customs Union—of which South Africa is the dominant member with Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia as its partners.

But high tariff walls between southern African nations, inefficient communications systems and physical infrastructure, the virtual absence of financial institutions in most southern African countries, foreign exchange problems and high external debt are hampering increased regional trade.

At a Southern African Foreign Trade Organisation [Safto] "Southern Africa: A New Scenario for Trade and Investment" conference in Johannesburg this week speakers from across the region stressed the need for such a trading bloc. The appallingly low level of intraregional trade is unlikely to grow much in the short term.

Zambian trade expert Prega Ramsammy told the conference that mere adherence to the trade liberalisation programmes entailing gradual removal of trade tariffs between PTA countries—scheduled to be completed by the year 2000—would increase trade among Southern Africa nations to 20 percent of total trade.

But, says SADCC regional business council chairman Harry Thomson, some governments have vested interest in dragging their feet over tariff reform because they use these tariffs to boost state coffers.

Another major problem is "tied-aid"—the insistence by Western donors that goods bought with their donations be sourced in the donor countries.

Thomson emphasised certain prerequisites for the proper functioning of the trade bloc—once it gets off the ground: "We need to have fixed exchange rates between the countries, and it is also essential to have properly coordinated monetary and interest rate policies.... Governments must also guarantee the independence of the central banks. Both the private sector and the informal sector need to be developed."

Zimbabwe businessman Keith Aitkenson supported this by saying that R [rand] 100-million worth of trade between South Africa and Zimbabwe was via the informal sector—unregistered traders buying goods in South Africa to sell in Zimbabwe without declaring them at the border.

The region is also plagued by inefficient information systems, which makes it much easier for businessmen to deal with overseas countries than with their own neighbours. Zambia's trade information, for instance, is more than 10 years out of date.

This is further exacerbated by the lack of financial markets: southern Africa has just three stock exchanges—in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. To illustrate the sorry state of the financial services sector, Aitkenson told the conference about a payment his company was expecting from Mozambique. It took them six months to track the cheque down and it was eventually found in a Chicago bank.

For South Africa, such a bloc would be of great benefit. Infrastructural decay and the destruction caused by civil war provide great opportunities for South Africa, the only country in the region with sound infrastructure and advanced technology. Furthermore, says Safto Africa manager Paul Runge, institutions such as CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research] and Eskom have good training programmes which countries busy with reconstruction would find beneficial.

Runge added that if South African companies rid themselves of "Afro-pessimism" and their perception of their region as bankrupt, they would discover there is a good demand there for manufactured products, which bodes well for the local manufacturing sector.

"Of the R9-billion trade with Africa last year, a large proportion was composed of cars, chemicals, plastics and other manufactured products. So it should be clear to South African businessmen that there is a great demand for beneficiated products in Africa."

Also, notes Thomson, the country can sell itself as a source for international donors looking for supplies to help the millions of refugees in the subregion.

Gabon

CNC Chairman Outlines Objective for Media

AB0106181092 *Libreville Africa No 1* in French
1230 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Two months after it was set up, the National Communications Council [CNC] in Gabon has held a news conference in Libreville. Etienne Mousselou, chairman of the CNC, used the opportunity to outline the mission assigned to the public media within the multiparty system:

[Begin Mousselou recording] Radio and television stations should give a third of their air time to the executive authorities, a third of their time to the ruling party, and a third to the opposition parties during their main newscasts of the week to enable them to discuss issues affecting Gabonese society. State newspapers should give equal treatment to the executive, the majority party, and the opposition in full respect of the ethics of the profession.

In the same way, under the authority of the CNC, a 30-minute weekly program on radio and television will be reserved for recognized political parties, associations, and trade unions to make their activities and programs known. Representatives of political parties, associations, and trade unions shall freely choose the contents of the programs to be broadcast. The air time assigned to each political party, association, or trade union in that program is reserved exclusively and cannot be ceded to any other organization. [end recording]

Another highlight of that news conference was the reminder on the need for reporters to respect their ethics.

[Begin Mousselou recording] The communications code drawn up by the CNC places special emphasis on the responsibility of the reporter who has to respect the private life of people, the dignity, the intimacy, the rights and welfare of citizens. We shall see to the scrupulous respect of the rules of ethics. We shall fight against lies, the distortion of facts, falsification, and insults.

Our role is also to defend the rights of the communicator. To this end, we shall do everything to ensure that reporters have free access to all sources of information and enjoy a decent social status. Reporters shall freely investigate everything that affects the political life of the country. No reporter shall be harassed, punished, or sued for having access to any information, or for having published or broadcast true information that is embarrassing to authorities or a category of people. [end recording]

Rwanda

Wave of Mutinies, Coup Rumors Spreading

EA0106215092 *Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio* in French 1800 GMT
31 May 92

[Text] Rwanda—A wave of mutinies has spread through the Rwandan Army since 29 May. The two main towns

in the country, Ruhengeri [northwestern Rwanda] and Gisenyi [western Rwanda], are experiencing an upheaval. The first official report talks of 27 dead. Moreover, rumors of a coup d'état are circulating in the country. From Kigali, Thomas Kamilindi reports:

[Kamilindi] On 29 May gunshots were heard in the town of Ruhengeri, the fourth largest town in the country which was occupied for three days in January 1991 by the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF]. To start with there were shots in the air, then the movement changed into acts of looting and vandalism. According to official reports, there were at least 15 dead and 30 seriously injured.

Last night, the neighboring town of Gisenyi in the west caught fire in turn. Gisenyi, the third largest town in Rwanda which borders Goma, Zaire, is also the hometown of the Rwandan head of state, General Juvenal Habyarimana. Shops there were looted and destroyed. At present, it is said that there are about 10 dead and an undetermined number of injured. The total could be higher because shooting was still going on this afternoon.

It is feared that the wave of mutinies has spread to the entire country, especially the capital. There are also rumors of a coup d'état in Kigali.

For several months, discontent has reached a peak. Soldiers asked the government to give them the money, about 300 million [Rwandan] francs, that the population had collected to support the war effort. They believed that the money belonged to them and that it should not be used for other purposes, even if the soldiers each received a modest amount. Finally, the Rubicon was crossed recently when the government started to talk officially about a demobilization in the near future. Tens of thousands of soldiers recruited wholesale to cover the needs of the war, many of them illiterate, concluded that they had been betrayed by the authorities. To them they are heroes who have defended the national integrity for the last two years and are to this day in the trenches. Therefore, in their minds, if it wants to get rid of them, it had better get prepared on time.

Curfew Reported in Gisenyi

EA0106221092 *Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la République Rwandaise* in French 0430 GMT
1 Jun 92

[Text] The Gisenyi [western Rwanda] prefectural authorities have decided that the curfew will start at 1800 and end at 0500 in the town and its neighborhood. In effect, Gisenyi town is subject to total insecurity: Soldiers have mutinied, pillaged, and destroyed. Gunshots were heard up to yesterday morning. There is talk of about 10 dead and a certain number of injured.

Yesterday afternoon, the town had a bit of peace. A systematic search was undertaken to recover the stolen goods and at around 1800 many objects had been recovered.

CENTRAL AFRICA

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Gisenyi town seems to have taken the place of Ruhengeri where the same scene had been experienced since 29 May. A scene of pillaging and looting accompanied by gunshots traumatized the town of Ruhengeri where there were at least 15 dead and 30 serious injuries. The military authorities are appealing for calm.

After the prefecture of Ruhengeri, the minister of defense, James Gasana, and the Army chief of staff, Colonel Laurent Serubuga, visited Mutara [northeastern Rwanda]. The entire trip was aimed at explaining that the government has no intention of reducing the number of soldiers.

Kenya

President Moi Delivers Madaraka Day Speech

*EA0106213092 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi in Nairobi on 1 June—live relay]

[Excerpts] My fellow countrymen, today we assemble, as we have done in the past 28 [as heard] years, to celebrate the day we attained internal self-government. [passage omitted]

Since then we have made tremendous progress in social, economic, and political spheres, but the social conflicts currently taking place in our country are very disheartening and are betrayal of those patriotic Kenyans who sacrificed their lives so that we could be free to manage our own affairs in a peaceful and orderly manner. The conflicts which have resulted in loss of life and destruction of property, suspicions, and tension among our people, rumormongering as well as character assassination are not in keeping with the spirit of Madaraka Day. We can only be a united Kenya if each one of us is at peace with himself and his neighbor. It is my wish, as it has always been, that all Kenyans live and continue to live in peace for I believe it to be God's plan for mankind.

Fellow Kenyans, the KANU [Kenya African National Union] government, after taking into full account the needs of our people in a changing international political environment, ushered in political pluralism so that Kenyans could peacefully practice competitive politics in a multiparty system. My government sincerely believes that the introduction of multipartyism would strengthen our political institution.

But as we celebrate this first Madaraka Day since the amendment of Section 2(A) of our Constitution, I note with sadness and sorrow the unbearable circumstances that some of our people have been subjected to. No single Kenyan should again suffer such pain.

We did not introduce multipartyism as a license to destructive politics. Kenyans of whatever tribe, be they Kikuyus, Luos, Kambas, Luhyas, or Kalenjin, are free to move, settle, and own property anywhere in the Republic without fear. Each Kenyan should travel the length and breadth of this country without thinking for one moment that they would be in danger. This is the essence of democracy. Indeed, responsible democracy guarantees the freedom, rights, and the security of the individual, including the security of property.

My government is committed to the rule of law and to protecting and respecting human rights of all Kenyans. Ladies and gentlemen, Kenyans will not allow a culture of violence to take root anywhere in the country. Those persons who initiate, plan, execute, or abet violence are warned to cease forthwith.

The government shall spare no effort or resources in dealing with them swiftly, firmly, and decisively. Consequently, I am directing the commissioner of police to use all the forces given to him in law to prevent occurrence of activities or any circumstance that would create insecurity and suffering, especially among the aged, mothers, and children.

In effecting this directive, the commissioner of police will not be constrained by social status, religious or political affiliation of those involved in acts that would be prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order. In this respect, every leader and every Kenyan must consider carefully whether his utterances will be a source of hope or suffering to our people, a source of unity or disintegration, or a source of creating national cohesion. Such self-censorship will enhance the value of human dignity and the need to respect the welfare of others and help build a united and prosperous nation.

Equally, leaders must come to grips with the simple reality that their utterances and activities are hurting our economy, particularly the welfare of the ordinary man or ordinary Kenyan. Tribal clashes and rumors have disrupted economic activities in the affected areas. Calls for aid cuts by donors have resulted in stalled development projects meant to benefit the ordinary *wananchi* [citizen], such as construction of hospitals, roads, water supply, and various women group's projects. In spite of these deliberate disruptions, my government will continue to consolidate and direct resources available to it for the common good.

Ladies and gentlemen, our economy is going through difficult times as are other economies in the world. As part of the international community, we are affected by the global recession. I am, however, happy to note that in spite of these negative factors, our economic performance has been commendable. Taking into account that no single government in the world can claim to be perfect in its operations, we, too, have had our share of management shortcomings, such as corruption, theft, lack of teamwork in some areas, favoritism, and laxity.

These ills are not limited to the public service. They affect all other institutions, including the private sector, the professions, nongovernmental and even religious organizations. With these reasons, the fight against such ills cannot be the responsibility of the government alone, but requires our concerted effort. I call upon every individual in all walks of life to be sincere and active in the fight to eliminate these undesirable practices that hinder the rapid realization of our national goals.

As we consolidate the concept of pluralism, I want to reiterate that my government is fully committed to free and fair elections. Toward this end, I have already announced that the elections will be observed by a team

drawn from within the Commonwealth nations. Everything is being done to ensure fair play. I expect the players in the political game to conduct themselves responsibly in the eyes of the Kenyan public. I am, however, saddened by the utterances and activities of some leaders who seem determined to derail the electoral process which commences in a week's time with the registration of voters. Meanwhile, I urge all Kenyans who are qualified to register as voters to do so. It is through the voter's card that you will freely declare your choice of candidate in the coming general election. It is a right which you must not deny yourself.

To this end, the government continues to issue identity cards to those Kenyans who are eligible. In order to ensure that all qualified Kenyans are registered as voters, the government has taken appropriate measures to speed up the process of issuing the national identity cards.

Kenyans are competent judges of their own rights, needs, aspirations, and how to achieve them. I am confident that in the coming general election they will once again demonstrate their maturity by choosing the candidates that will best serve these interests. I hope their verdict will be respected by all, including those spreading lies, rumors, and malicious propaganda.

Another area that is of concern to me and to us all is the refugee problem. Today, Kenya is sheltering more than its fair share of refugees from this region. For instance, refugees who continue to arrive from Somalia are estimated to have now reached over 400,000. From the outset, we have discharged our responsibility, providing them with food and other humanitarian needs from our own resources. At the same time, most parts of our country have experienced severe drought that has resulted in food shortages, necessitating importation at a very high cost. At this point, I must also thank the UN High Commission for Refugees and other international nongovernmental organizations for the support they continue to give us.

Nevertheless, the refugee problem and the food shortages are making it increasingly difficult for Kenya to cope. I appeal to the international community for more

financial and material support to help resolve the conflicts in Somalia and other parts of the region which cause the refugee problem. I also appeal to my fellow Kenyans in those areas which have received adequate rains to redouble their farming activities in order to help feed those in drought-hit areas.

I wish to emphasize that those problems are human tragedies which must be handled with utmost care and understanding, and which nobody with a sense of compassion and responsibility should exploit for selfish political ends. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, I wish to appeal to Kenyans to avoid indulging in activities which would destroy what we have together painfully built in the last 30 years. We owe it to future generations that we build a united and a prosperous nation. God bless you all. God bless Kenya. Thank you.

Tanzania

President Mwinyi Changes Cabinet

AB2905220092 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1300 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] Dar es Salaam—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi today made changes to his cabinet affecting four ministers who have swapped ministries and duties.

A statement from State House said President Mwinyi has appointed Professor Kigoma [Ali] Malima as the new minister of finance, replacing brother Stephen Kibona, who becomes a minister of state in the office of the president in charge of planning and vice chairman of the commission of planning.

Brother Benjamin Mkapa becomes the new minister for higher education, science, and technology, taking over from Dr. William Shija, who becomes the new minister for information and broadcasting.

The statement said the ministers would be sworn in on 31 May at 1600 at State House in Dar es Salaam. Others who will also be sworn on the same day are Colonel Seif Bakari, who was recently appointed junior minister of labor and youth development, and brother Zakia Meghji, who was appointed junior minister of health.

President de Klerk Visits Russia, Meets Yeltsin
WAU206125692

For reportage on the visit to Moscow by President de Klerk, including reports on talks between de Klerk and President Boris Yeltsin and the text of a joint communique between the two, see the Russia International Affairs section of the 2 June Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Codesa Delegates Comment; Committees 'Streamlined'
MB0106153092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1436 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 1 SAPA—Threats of mass action by the African National Congress [ANC] are tainting negotiations at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. Democratic Party [DP] leader Dr Zach de Beer, a key figure at the talks, said on Monday.

"All this sabre-rattling is tainting the atmosphere," said Dr de Beer.

ANC President Nelson Mandela on Sunday warned his organisation would embark on mass action unless the government acceded to the ANC's demands.

The ANC is calling for a "positive" response by the end of June from President F.W. de Klerk on the deadlocked issue of interim government. A similar response has been demanded from the government by the end of the year on the election of a constitution-making body.

The mass-action campaign would also call for the release of political prisoners and the "levelling of the political playing field".

Chief government negotiator at Codesa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he did not see the need for mass action. "But there's nothing new about it, it's mainly confirmation of what the ANC has been saying over the last three weeks," he said.

Asked if the government still believed in the ANC's wish to negotiate, he said: "It's my impression that the ANC is being forced into this by their partners in the (SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]) alliance. This raises serious questions about the influence of the SACP and COSATU".

With regard to time frames, Mr Meyer said the government still believed time was of the essence, but decisions on vital issues could not be forced.

He said the way negotiations were going, it was unlikely Parliament would ratify any Codesa decisions this parliamentary session. Reconvening Parliament towards the end of the year was an option, however, he said.

Asked about the Daily Management Committee meeting on Monday morning, Chairman Pravin Gordhan said it

had been confirmed that the alleged tapping of the ANC's telephones would be investigated.

"Just by who, still has to be decided."

Mr Gordhan said the streamlined steering committees due to take over matters in two working groups were to be expanded to become more representative.

The two steering committees, along with Working Group Three's technical committee, will now be called sub-committees.

Some unhappiness with the steering committees was voiced on Monday morning.

The steering committees were originally formed for administrative purposes, it was argued. Not all parties were represented and some delegates felt they should not deal with political matters.

The MC [Management Committee] decided last week that the two steering committees and one technical committee would take over the tasks of their respective working groups.

The MC would turn to the deadlocked Working Group Two (constitutional principles) on Monday afternoon, Mr Gordhan said.

Despite reports of a troubled atmosphere in Monday's negotiations because of ANC threats of mobilisation, outside the meeting room after lunch delegates chatted cordially.

Inkatha's chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's Jacob Zuma were in close conversation, while Mr Meyer and ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa shared a laugh.

MC Chairman on Progress
MB0106192692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1842 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 1 SAPA—A streamlined Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] is back on track but is still missing a vital cog.

Management Committee [MC] Chairman Pravin Gordhan said at a press briefing on Monday sub-committees dealing with matters in Working Groups [WG] One (creating a climate for free political activity), Three (interim arrangements) and Four (TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states) will start talks again on June 8.

The Working Groups—assigned to the nitty-gritty of negotiation—last sat before Codesa Two, when talks were almost derailed over the question of a constitution-making body.

At Codesa Two, ANC [African National Congress] and government camps stone-walled over a second house or

senate, and the percentages needed for decisions in the National Assembly for such a constitution.

It is agreement on precisely this issue which is still missing from the Codesa train.

Mr Gordhan said WG Two matters had not been discussed at all on Monday, and the issue would be raised again at the next MC meeting on June 15.

Asked what was to be inferred from the repeated delay in solving this issue, Mr Gordhan said: "Organisations at Codesa say they need more time to establish what way to take the issue forward.

"The Management Committee thought it might be better to wait until June 15."

The subcommittees which have been appointed will work closely with their respective Working Groups, returning to them on completion of tasks "for comments and recommendations" to forward to the MC.

A document on MC terms of reference for the subcommittees was released to the press at the MC briefing.

With regard to the subcommittee in WG One, it recommended that a task group be set up to deal with the release of political prisoners.

The MC suggested that the Departments of Justice and Correctional Services, the Human Rights Commission and any other experts should take part in this discussion.

With regard to WG Four, the MC suggested the subcommittee should debate Ciskei's position that it would not participate in interim arrangements unless the conditions of its participation were clearly defined.

Bophuthatswana's position with regard to its commitment to the Declaration of Intent should also be looked at.

Bophuthatswana has held back from committing itself to Codesa, adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

The subcommittee should also address possible elections in both these territories.

Asked about time frames and ANC threats of mass-action to press for an interim government by July, Mr Gordhan said this had not been discussed.

Working Group Five (time frames) had been disbanded, he confirmed.

Mr Gordhan said the DMC [Daily Management Committee] had received information from the ANC earlier in the day about the alleged tapping of the organisation's Codesa telephones.

A private company, not yet appointed, would investigate the claims and report back to the MC.

"When the MC has received the reports it will decide if any responsibility is to be assigned," said Mr Gordhan.

The reconstitution of the DMC was discussed but not decided on on Monday. Mr Gordhan will continue as chairman of both committees until June 15.

A proposal to allow the media into MC sessions was tabled by the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP].

Chief SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said Codesa should be opened up to more effective public scrutiny. "We would like to believe the future of all our people is being discussed. They have a right to know how we are going about this process."

Slovo Wants Open Sessions

*MB0106192792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1853 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[Text] Johannesburg June 1 SAPA—Closed-door discussions at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] may be thrown open to the media if an SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] proposal is accepted by the convention's Management Committee [MC].

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said more effective public scrutiny of the talks was needed.

While reporting conditions have improved for journalists at Codesa, much information continues to come from leaked documents and sources who do not want to be named.

Speaking at a press briefing, Mr Slovo said there was "monumental ignorance" among the public about Codesa.

"We are perceived as a mysterious cabal... We would like to believe the future of all our people is being discussed."

"They have a right to know more about how we are going about this process."

He discounted arguments that negotiations were best conducted away from the public eye and that opening them to the media would encourage political posturing.

"There is nothing we wouldn't say to all."

Mr Slovo said if closed door statements became a matter of public knowledge, there would be less politicking.

Codesa information was being distorted before reaching the public, with delegates "rushing to our favourite journalists" under the present system.

"It reaches the public in a slanted way and this helps spread cynicism about what we are doing."

The SACP therefore recommended opening the MC to a rotating pool of journalists, at least on an experimental basis.

The proposal would be high on the agenda of the next MC meeting on June 15, Mr Slovo said.

ANC's Ramaphosa Discusses Plans for Mass Action

*MB0106103492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 31 May 92*

[Interview with African National Congress, ANC, Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa by Freek Robinson on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] With me is Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the ANC. Welcome Mr. Ramaphosa.

[Ramaphosa] Thank you.

[Robinson] It seems to me that you have stated very clearly this afternoon that you are going to start a program of mass action, as we have heard in the news as well, and that you have actually substituted the armed struggle for this mass action as a means to force the government. Is that correct?

[Ramaphosa] Well, it's not a case of substituting the armed struggle to embark on mass action. Mass action has always been an instrument that our people have used throughout the decades of apartheid, misrule, and oppression, to force the hand of the government, to change its policies, and I think we are pleased to note that a lot of progress has been made in compelling the government to move away from its racist policies. However...

[Robinson, interrupting] By that means, or by negotiations?

[Ramaphosa] Well, it has largely been through mass action. It was through mass action that the government finally agreed that we had to change South Africa fundamentally. It was through mass action that a whole lot of other things changed in the country. I can cite a few. The Separate Amenities Act a few years ago was finally scrapped from the statute book because our people, in their masses, in the towns, in the hospitals, decided that they had had enough, and they are going to ensure that the Separate Amenities Act does not operate any more.

You might recall that there was a time when hundreds and hundreds of prisoners were incarcerated because they just happened to oppose apartheid. They embarked on hunger strikes, and those hunger strikes led to their release. You might also recall that workers had a Labor Relations Act imposed on them. Negotiations with the government failed, and it was those workers who decided that through the usage of their power on the ground, through mass action, they would compel the government to see their point of view, and indeed, all those various forms of action did bear fruit, and we are where we are today in this country largely because of the voice, the views of our people on the ground which were expressed in the streets of our country.

[Robinson] Mr. Ramaphosa, I'm sure the government will probably not agree with you on that particular point, but may I ask you this question. I think it's something that the people out there might ask. And that is to say, if

you are strong in the negotiating process, and you have confidence in yourself, why have this weapon as something that you keep there just to force the government when it suits you?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I don't think it should be seen in that way. I think the whole question of mass action should be seen in the context that we still have minority apartheid rule in this country. Our people are still involved in struggle, and the mass action that we have embarked upon is premised on five pillars. The first is that there should be an end to state murder, and surely there can't be anything wrong with our people demanding that the state must come clean and end murder. The second pillar is that there should be a stop and a complete end to corruption. Surely, even a government as unrepresentative as the South African Government would agree that people do have the right to voice their views in a democratic fashion, to say that the state must end corruption.

The other one is to build the nation. We are saying that our people have the right to go into the streets of our country to embark on whatever action to ensure that we build a country. The other one is to ensure that apartheid rule is brought to an end immediately. Surely, Freek, there can't be anything wrong with people going into the streets, just like the people of Zevenfontein; the white people there went into the streets to demand that informal settlement of black people should not be brought near them. There can't be anything wrong with that. In fact, a democracy, a fully fledged democracy should be able to allow and accommodate views that can be expressed by our people through their actions, be it in the streets, in the factories, and everywhere else.

[Robinson] But what specifically, Mr. Ramaphosa, do you want to achieve through mass action as far as the negotiating process is concerned?

[Ramaphosa] Well, everything is tied up with negotiations, and as I said to you, the negotiation process is continuously being frustrated. It is currently being frustrated also by the government's refusal to agree to a negotiated settlement in the most acceptable way to all parties.

[Robinson] What are your minimum demands then?

[Ramaphosa] Our minimum demands, in as far as the negotiation process itself is concerned, is that there should be elected a constitution making body, and that body should be a single chambered body. There shouldn't be a second chamber which will be elected or appointed undemocratically, which will have the right to veto the decisions of the first chamber.

[Robinson] That was the problem at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. So, are you going to start with mass action if the government does not come over to your view?

[Ramaphosa] Well, Freek, I actually said that we have five objectives to achieve through the mass action we are embarking on. We are saying that there should be end to state murder; there should be an end to apartheid rule; there should be an end to corruption; and there should be an end to mismanagement; and that we should begin the process of building a nation. All these things are completely intertwined with the whole negotiation process.

The government at present is involved in a whole restructuring process. They are pushing through a bill in Parliament, in the face of negotiations that are taking place in Codesa, to compel white people in this country to be conscripted, and they want to entrench this for a very long time to come. Now we have, through the various actions that we can embark upon, compelled this government to abandon its old ways of ruling this country through apartheid policies and ideologies.

[Robinson] But can I ask you again, Mr. Ramaphosa: If the government does not accept your views, specifically at Codesa, will you start mass action?

[Ramaphosa] Well, we have said that the government has a chance now to come to the negotiating table and negotiate in good faith. We are not negotiating with a government that is determined to negotiate in good faith and open up its cards. And we are saying that yes, by the end of June, if the government has not shown a significantly positive approach to the negotiation process, our people who are impatient on the ground—and we were able to get a flavor of this at our recently held conference—are fully entitled to participate in whatever form of mass action that they can decide on, with a view of bringing an end to apartheid rule, of stopping apartheid, state corruption, and murders and the violence that continues to rage in our country.

[Robinson] I quickly want to take up the question of violence with you, but just this one last question on negotiation: What do you want the government to show? That act of good faith that you were talking about before you start with mass action. One single point.

[Ramaphosa] Well, we want the government to come to the negotiating table, and to come there and negotiate in good faith, and to agree that the internationally accepted democratic principles should be applied when we draft a new constitution for our country; that the government should not come up with rules and formulas that have never been tested to work in any part of the world. Our people are yearning for a democratic dispensation and want to bring an end to the apartheid rule with minimum delay, and that we can achieve, we insist, at the negotiating table, but that can only be done if the government finally has ideas that will converge with ours with regards to ending apartheid.

[Robinson] Converge with yours, and I think that is the sticky point, that you have your agenda and of course they have theirs. Could I just quickly refer to this question of the Goldstone Commission; initially the

ANC rejected the report. Later there was some backtracking it seems to me, but do you accept Mr. Ramaphosa, that you in the ANC do have a responsibility yourself to bring violence to an end?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I think one needs to look at the whole question of violence, and particularly the Goldstone report, in proper context. Judge Goldstone or his commission issued the report first and issued it to the state president or to the government. The government chose to hold that report away from the public and the major actors in the South African political scene for four weeks. Thereafter, Judge Goldstone then released a press statement, a press statement through which he was trying to give some form of an interpretation to his report. The first we ever heard of all these two reports was through the press statement, and of course we had a problem with the press statement because it seemed to lack complete reality with regard to its approach to the violence in this country.

It was very superficial, and we pointed this out even to Judge Goldstone. When you go through the report you actually find that the commission has taken the trouble to analyze the causes of violence in our country in a way that I would regard as being fair, and the ANC has never said itself or its members are not involved or caught up in the violence, but one then needs to see or to look at the root causes of the violence.

[Robinson] But do you, yourself, accept responsibility for your followers and to keep them away from violence?

[Ramaphosa] Well, we've always said that our organization is completely committed against violence and is going in the spirit of the peace accord to do everything it can in terms of its own constituency. But one needs to look at that in holistic fashion and to do so you need to look at what Goldstone says. Goldstone says the first cause of violence is apartheid rule. The country has been subjected to decades and decades of apartheid oppression, of degradation. That is a very serious indictment against the government, and everything starts flowing from there. So, therefore, the government can never abdicate its own responsibility on causing the violence. It also goes on to say ...

[Robinson, interrupting] Mr. Ramaphosa, we are running out of time, so please, if I could just ask you to answer that one question: Do you accept responsibility for your own followers, to keep them away from violence?

[Ramaphosa] Well, I have said that the ANC, in the spirit of the peace accord, accepts that it has a duty, it has a responsibility to ensure that its own constituency, its members, do not participate in acts of violence. That is very clear and we are quite up front in as far as admitting that part is ... [pauses] when it goes to that part. But one needs to look at all that in the proper context because Goldstone actually tries to get the entire nation to focus

on the real causes of violence, including the alienation of the security forces from the people that they are trying to police.

[Robinson] Yes, thank you Mr. Ramaphosa.

NP Spokesman Reacts

*MB0206053992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[Interview with National Party information chief Piet Coetzer by Marietta Kruger on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Kruger] We heard today that the National Party [NP] has reacted vehemently to the ANC's [African National Congress] threats to use mass action to pressure the government. The ANC is threatening mass action if the government does not agree to its demands before the end of June. In the studio we have NP information chief Mr. Piet Coetzer to give us his party's side of the story. Good evening, and welcome to "Agenda."

[Coetzer] Thank you.

[Kruger] First of all, what is the NP's reaction? It sounds as though the ANC has issued a threat.

[Coetzer] Yes, Marietta, they have indeed issued a threat. Threatening mass action when one does not get one's way in negotiations simply does not fit in with the spirit of negotiation. Ultimatums cannot be part of negotiations. If one wants to negotiate, one must compromise. That is the spirit of negotiation. We also believe that, while much progress has been made by most of the working groups at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], it is most irresponsible to raise the political temperature at this stage. When one looks at the political temperature in general, there is reason for concern that the ANC might start something it cannot control or manage. There is also the general economic climate to be considered.

[Kruger] I'll return to Codesa later, as well as negotiations. But let's consider this threat of mass action. What does the NP think about it? Perhaps you're a bit afraid?

[Coetzer] Afraid? No, certainly not. Worried, yes, because we are convinced that...

[Kruger, interrupting] One is thinking here of country-wide strikes.

[Coetzer] Countrywide so-called mass action can only be disruptive. There's always the danger that it will degenerate into violence. We have seen in the past that mass action often goes hand in hand with intimidation, which leads to reaction. We honestly believe that, with the high level of unemployment, the economy cannot withstand a further setback at this stage. Mass action can harm the economy, there's no doubt about that.

[Kruger] Does the NP recognize the right to freedom of speech?

[Coetzer] Yes. Indeed, one of the first reform steps taken after President F.W. de Klerk came to power was to approve mass demonstrations in Cape Town. So we do not deny the right to demonstrate. We do not deny the right to express one's opinion. But if it is aimed at trying to impose your will on other parties, and especially parties with which one is negotiating, then one's faith in those negotiations is called into question.

[Kruger] You may have watched "Agenda" last night, in which [ANC Secretary General] Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa referred to the Zevenfontein squatters, and said it was their right to make themselves heard by whatever means possible. Would you then say you recognize the people's rights?

[Coetzer] We recognize the right of people to demonstrate. There's no argument about that. But it depends on what the aim is.

[Kruger] In the past when similar calls for mass action have been made, what was the end result of such action, in your view?

[Coetzer] Marietta, we are convinced that mass action only leads to disruption. At the end of the day, one still has to return to the negotiation table, to try to find solutions. We are convinced that even though this threat of mass action places pressure on the negotiation process, and can throw Codesa into a crisis of sorts, the negotiation process itself will continue in the long term.

[Kruger] Recently, in this program, and in the media, we have seen that the ANC is unhappy because Codesa has not been moving at the pace it should. They have expressed their dissatisfaction quite strongly. Now, during this past weekend, we have heard their statements about countrywide action. What does the NP believe will be achieved if the ANC goes ahead with the threatened mass action?

[Coetzer] Do you mean what will the NP achieve, or what will the ANC achieve?

[Kruger] I mean, what will the government do from now on at Codesa—if they are going to continue with it?

[Coetzer] Well, we want to continue with the negotiation process. The negotiation process did not in any way grind to a halt. Today there is ...

[Kruger, interrupting] But the brakes have been applied somewhat.

[Coetzer] Yes, on certain fronts. The fact is that at Codesa today there is around, for example, the frame of reference, the work field of subgroups of the Management Committee, consensus has to be reached regarding the remaining work of Working Groups One, Three, and Four. So the process is still continuing.

[Kruger] Even though at a slower pace perhaps?

[Coetzer] A slower pace, let me just say over the so-called haste of the ANC. From the start, we warned after Codesa I that one must not set deadlines.

[Kruger] So you are not unduly concerned about threatened mass action if the deadline is not met?

[Coetzer] I would not say that we are not concerned about it, but what we are really concerned about is that there is an attempt to force compromises or concessions, a type of blackmail approach. We will not allow ourselves to be blackmailed. I think it is also important that one has to realize that it is not only about an argument between the National Party and the ANC. There are seven other parties besides the National Party and the government people who voted around Working Group Two with us.

[Kruger] I want to come back quickly to something that you have just mentioned: violence, intimidation and violence. There is also the economic climate. How does the NP see these utterances of the ANC in that light?

[Coetzer] We think that the announcements, while there are warnings—as also in the latest report of Judge Goldstone—about the current political climate, it is really irresponsible to raise the temperature even further. We think it is really irresponsible as far as the economy is concerned, when you have thousands of people unemployed to try to damage it further.

[Kruger] I may not have the words exactly right—sorry to interrupt you—but I can remember their announcement that they bind themselves to negotiation, but struggle has not necessarily been ruled out. What was the NP's reaction to that?

[Coetzer] Our reaction to that is that you cannot negotiate while simultaneously threatening conflict. Those two things are not compatible, and here is idealism at the moment ...

[Kruger, interrupting] And what are you going to do about it?

[Coetzer] ...with the ANC. We will just simply continue to negotiate, we ourselves want to get to a solution quickly. We are eager to arrive at a power-sharing situation, and we believe it is in the interest of the country.

[Kruger] In conclusion, I just want to ask you quickly: If we have to sit around the table again the evening before the deadline, or the one that they have set, has passed and nothing has really happened, are you still going to be calm about it?

[Coetzer] Yes, Marietta, it is difficult to pretend you are a prophet, to, in fact, predict accurately how things are going. The National Party and the government will continue unhindered to get to a solution in a peaceful way.

[Kruger] Thank you, Mr. Piet Coetzer, information chief of the National Party, for coming to our studio this evening.

[Coetzer] My pleasure, thank you very much.

Home Affairs Minister Defends Referendums Bill

*MB0106162392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1607 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[Text] Parliament June 1 SAPA—The Referendums Amendment Bill would be reconsidered if any substantial objections or improvements were proposed at a later stage, the minister of home affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, said on Monday.

Replying to debate on the second reading of the bill, he said the process of constitutional negotiation was continuing and issues related to the electoral process would come up for discussion again at a later stage.

Parliament still had to pass legislation relating to the electoral process in a future election.

Responding to criticism that there had been no consultation with extra-parliamentary bodies on the measure, Mr Pienaar said the joint parliamentary committee which considered the bill had invited submissions, but had received none.

The Department of Home Affairs had already received between 15,000 and 20,000 applications for identity documents without any special effort to promote the issuing of IDs.

Financial provision had been made in his department's 1992/93 budget for the provision of IDs to about 2.7 million South Africans who still had no documents.

Identity documents were essential to ensure that all persons who vote were entitled to do so.

Mr Pienaar said the bill was indicative of the direction in which the National Party wanted to steer South Africa—that of extending democracy to those presently not represented in the tricameral parliament.

However no legislation was adequate if a democratic culture did not exist in the entire voter corps.

The ANC's [African National Congress] threats of mass action and intimidation did not reflect a democratic culture.

ANC Condemns Government Efforts To Introduce Bills

*MB0106122892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1159 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "ANC Press Statement on Proposed Parliamentary Legislation"]

[Text] The ANC is outraged to learn that the South African Government is introducing legislation on subjects that clearly are the province Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] debates.

In discussing unilateral amendments to electoral procedures in the Referendum Bill and the Electoral Bill, the South African Government reveals its utter contempt for the negotiating process.

Instead of helping to resolve the deadlock in Codesa, this action can only lead to greater suspicion of the true intentions of the National Party and fuel further dissension.

The ANC condemns this provocative action by the South African Government and calls on it to withdraw the bills. We further call on the other parties participating in Codesa to refuse to ally themselves with this attempt to unilaterally determine procedures for the transition. Issued by: the Department of Information and Publicity, P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107, Johannesburg.

ANC's Manuel, Businessman Discuss Economic Policy

MB0106121192 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 31 May 92

[Interview with Trevor Manuel, head of the Economic and Planning Department of the African National Congress, ANC, and Christo Volschenk from the Finance and Technic company by Alec Hogg—live]

[Text] [Hogg] With us here is Trevor Manuel, who is the head of the Economic and Planning Department of the ANC. Thanks for joining us. And Christo Volschenk, from Finansies and Tegniek [Finance and Technic company]. Just having a look at the seven and half pages that you devoted to the economic policy, one thing strikes me here, and that is that you talk about possible nationalization. You talk about buying share holdings in private companies, ending direct tax on basic food, public work programs, rural development. I could go on and on. All of these cost a lot of money. How is all of this going to be financed?

[Manuel] I think that the first point is that we're saying that the state must be able to respond to the economy in respect of national interest. Now, the question of nationalization, we are saying, has been used as red herring in the past. What is more important is the manner in which the state responds. And the document is very clear that the state can respond by either increasing its share of the public sector, or it can reduce its share of the public sector. And decisions in that regard must be taken on the balance of evidence. You need to do cost-benefit analysis in respect of each and every instance.

[Hogg] But I'm talking about Mr. South Africa, Mr. John Citizen who's sitting at home now. He sees redistribution of wealth. He sees the South African Communist Party being one of your partners in the alliance. And he's worried about paying more tax, and that is a genuine concern. What can you say on that aspect?

[Manuel] Well, clearly there is going to be a very significant post-apartheid dividend. If one looks at areas of wastage in the present circumstances—take the recent scandal, the corruption scandal in the Department of Development Aid. And so we can project it through a number of other government departments. There is going to be a significant saving, and that saving we guarantee by transparency and accountability of government. The basis and fundamentals of the document that we adopted here is the move toward open and good government. And, that saving will be used.

We are saying that there must a shift in allocation of resources toward those who have been maximally disadvantaged by apartheid. At the same time, if one reads the document, you will find that there's probably an erring on the side of conservatism. From time to time the document refers to the need for the maintenance of microeconomic balances. The document is critical of the drift toward microeconomic populism, and the document cautions against inflationary deficit finance. All of that is there in the document, and we say that our people have the right to basic essentials. The question of timeframe is a different issue. But if you put in place transparency you will be able to achieve that, if you couple that with allocated efficiency in the economy as well.

[Hogg] Christo?

[Volschenk] Yes, Trevor, a superficial comparison of the economic policy document as they stood before the four-day conference and as it stands today, after the four-day conference, doesn't reveal many changes. Is that correct?

[Manuel] That's quite correct. There have been some areas that have been particularly educational for a number of delegates. Our policy, has in fact, evolved over some period of time. There are no significant changes. There's been a sharpening of formulation in particular areas, but clearly, what went into the conference, emerged as a consensus position. But one must bear in mind that the process of discussion of economic policy has been an issue within the ANC, at least for the past 12 months. The document has been revised, discussed by the membership, tested in the public arena, refined, put back, became part of the consolidated document. The seven and a half pages referred to by Alec is but the bare bones. That is supported by a number of other documents, a fuller espousal of our economic vision, issues on investment, issues on southern Africa. And we are in the process of developing trade and investment policies.

[Hogg] Right, if we can get back to specifics now. You said that you did speak to a wide constituency of people and that seems to show in your foreign investment policy, for instance. We know that around the world

there are literally over 100 countries who are looking for investment capital, and this investment capital is extraordinarily scarce. There is nothing in your document which really encourages foreign investors to come back into the country; if anything, there are some restrictions. You know, we are seeing Pakistan, for instance, has just abolished exchange control. Zambia to the north of us is doing just about the same thing. How important is foreign investment to the ANC.

[Manuel] It is quite important. It's not the be-all and end-all. In fact, there's a lot of capital, domestic South African capital, that has taken flight over the past 15 years. We need to create conditions that will allow that capital to return as well, but foreign capital will be important. We are saying that contractual, or special contractual arrangements will be possible, where foreign investors decide in the interest of what we would consider to be our national development strategy.

[Hogg] But isn't that like me going to the Natal rugby side and telling them that they can select me in the side if they put the person that I want, to be the coach there. You know, we've got to get these people into the country, surely.

[Manuel] No, we're quite confident that the available infrastructure in South Africa gives us a competitive edge, in terms of our ability to attract investment, but at the same time we have a highly politicized and highly organized labor force in South Africa. Labor legislation is going to be important. The broader interests of our constituency cannot be sacrificed in the interest of short tax breaks.

But we're saying to investors that we offer long-term potential because we want to concentrate on transparency, consistency, accountability, and predictability in the policy environment, and this is why we are looking to attracting long-term investors and this distinguishes us from the ad hocism of the incumbent government. And our broad political approach which asks for certainty, which asks that we put in place a representative democracy in the shortest space of time, will create those conditions of certainty and accountability, and more importantly, predictability. Those are the things that investors are looking for, and we meet hundreds of investors every month, potential investors with vast sums of money, foreign direct investors, portfolio managers, people who have an interest in South and southern Africa. And we are quite convinced that an investment code is going to create the conditions that will attract investors to South Africa.

[Hogg] Christo?

[Volschenk] Also, when are we actually going to see a final ANC document? Even after the four-day conference, you still say this is still not the final document; we're still working on it.

[Manuel] You see Christo, we are talking about guidelines. If one looks at fiscal policy, we are saying that we want fiscal management in a particular way. We want to

put in place, for instance, a fiscal commission representative of a vast range of interests in the economy in South Africa, and that should guide some of our decisions. We can't go into the nitty gritty at this stage of the kind of taxes that we will apply. There are a broad range of taxes waiting, that could be introduced in South Africa, but it would be foolhardy to tie the hands of a future government to detail at this particular point in time.

[Hogg] Mr. Manuel, thank you very much. We've run out of time.

HNP Leader Says Government 'Hostage' in Talks

*MB0106150092 Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER
in Afrikaans 27 May 92 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "ANC-SACP Wants Total Power—Jaap Marais"]

[Text] The government now has to make public its non-negotiable conditions and stick to them, just as the ANC [African National Congress]-SACP [South African Communist Party] have done, HNP [Reformed National Party] leader Jaap Marais said in a statement following the suspension of negotiations at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

"It is not unexpected that the ANC-SACP alliance withdrew their compromise proposals made at Codesa and are in the process of reviewing their stance as regards negotiations," Mr. Marais said.

"It was clear from the very beginning that the government would be virtually a hostage at the negotiations. The reason is that the government must allow the negotiations to go ahead at all costs, as it has no alternative, except the unlikelihood of a military dictatorship.

"The ANC-SACP are now in a position to make heavy demands, and if these concessions are not forthcoming, they will disrupt negotiations, which in turn will force the government to make further concessions.

"The HNP's view is that the ANC-SACP will not be satisfied with anything less than total power in South Africa.

"The government must now, just as the ANC-SACP have already done in the past, publicly make its non-negotiable conditions known and hold on to them. It is not a final victory, but it is necessary to restore equilibrium in a South Africa which is already disorganized."

AWB Leader Warns Government on Banning, Codesa

*MB3005140792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1332 GMT 30 May 92*

[Text] Klerksdorp, Transvaal May 31 SAPA—The AWB [Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, Afrikaner Resistance Movement] on Saturday [30 May] warned that if the movement was ever banned by the SA [South African]

Government, it would be viewed as an act of aggression and the organisation would react immediately.

Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche also warned that if the government did not heed the claims of the Boers to govern themselves in their own country, it would be seen as a declaration of war.

These claims were rightful, he said.

"The AWB would have no choice but to answer to this (banning) declaration," he said, at the end of a congress in Klerksdorp, billed as the AWB's world congress.

"If the government wants war he (sic) will get it."

At the congress, a motion was also passed that the AWB would ask the government as a matter of urgency to reconsider its position.

The deliberations of the congress itself were closed to the public and members of the press venturing within earshot of the hall where the proceedings were taking place were asked to move by members of the elite Ystergarde [Iron Guard].

Asked whether the AWB would negotiate in order to attain its own territory Mr Terreblanche said that his movement would negotiate with the leaders of nations but not with the leaders of communist-inspired movements.

"If we meet the ANC [African National Congress] we will meet them over the barrel of a gun," he added.

He also said Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] would yet become the centre of the bloodiest revolution Africa had ever seen.

Asked about the redistribution of land, Mr Terreblanche said the AWB would not allow the ANC to take one centimetre of Boer land.

A Czechoslovakian woman introduced as "Lenka", was on Saturday presented to the press as an example of contact the AWB had with an alleged 220 overseas rightwing organisations.

On Friday night a rightwinger from Greece, Mr Tony Androutopoulos, was presented.

Both have declined interviews, and they have not said which organisations they represent.

Questioned about other visiting rightwingers, Mr Terreblanche said the AWB would be meeting later on the weekend with representatives from England, Belgium and the USA.

For security reasons, their names, and details of the scheduled meetings, would not be made public.

Mr Terreblanche said the AWB was already in contact with 220 organisations, and that the congress had decided to establish further contacts with other rightwingers.

Among the local dignitaries spotted at the congress were actors Schalk Jacobson and Elma Potgieter.

Mrs "Oorlog" ["War"] Visser, one of 11 rightwingers recently questioned about the bomb explosion at the Rand Easter Show, was seen helping with the catering.

A "Captain" Freddy Harmse, of Roodepoort, told members of the press that a corps of AWB motorcyclists, called the Stormvalke, was in the process of resurgence after becoming dormant a few years ago.

Capt Harmse and his wife "Corporal" Alta Harmse, wearing a chromed nazi helmet and sitting astride his 1,000cc motorbike, happily posed for pictures.

2 Jun Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB0206120392

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Talk of Violence Spreading to Whites 'Deplorable'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 1 June in its page 6 editorial notes African National Congress, ANC, President Nelson Mandela's remarks to Phola Park residents that "Sooner or later this violence (in the townships) is going to spread to the Whites..." "This kind of talk is deplorable, since it may encourage Blacks to take their war into the White suburbs even if Mr Mandela claims the ANC will discourage them from doing so. If the ANC wants the situation to deteriorate into greater violence or civil war—the Whites will certainly protect themselves." "The long-suffering Whites, who are subjected to gangsterism on an unprecedented scale, will also expect the government and its security forces to take the toughest action possible to prevent the township war spilling over into the White areas."

THE STAR

New Political Movement 'To Rescue' Zimbabwe—"After years of maladministration by President Robert Mugabe's government, the people of Zimbabwe have become desperate," declares a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 2 June. "The country has a multitude of problems, including an acute food shortage, an economy on the point of collapse and massive unemployment." "Now, the first move towards a new political movement to rescue the country has materialised in the shape of the Forum for Democratic Reform Trust. As yet it is little more than a discussion group, but it may well be the embryo of a party to rise and challenge the hitherto all-powerful ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union]-PF [Patriotic Front]. Distinguished community leaders, blacks and whites, are rallying to its colours, and with former Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena lending his name, it is a group which the government cannot dismiss lightly."

BUSINESS DAY

ANC Policy Guidelines Realism—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 2 June in a page 10 editorial comments on the ANC policy guidelines reached at its weekend conference, saying: "The ANC's leadership takes a broadly realistic view of what is possible, of what can be done to relieve poverty and of what needs to be done to ensure that local and foreign investors are not frightened away from the new South Africa. But careful or even ambiguous wording shows the leadership's sensitivity to the dangers of moving faster than the organisation's supporters. The leadership had to pay attention to the political and economic demands of the organisation's membership. But, equally, it was aware that strident demands for redistribution or confiscation would exclude the country from the market for foreign private sector investment."

SOWETAN

Mass Action Legitimate—"Some might consider the ANC's current tough stance as dangerous but events and common sense show this step as eminently necessary," begins a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 2 June. "The fact that mass action could lead to violence is dwarfed by the critical if unfortunate direction negotiations and the peace talks have taken. The very nature of the South African political process legitimises such action. Blacks do not have the vote and they make themselves heard by mass demonstrations."

DIE BURGER

'Checks and Balances' Needed in Constitution To Avoid Abuse—"No matter how unpleasant the revelations of corruption and maladministration over the past few years, the fact that it is being exposed now is a hidden blessing. These issues are of great importance for the drafting of a new constitution," begins a page 14 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 27 May. "The exposure of maladministration and allegations of security force irregularities should serve as a warning to every sensible person negotiating a new constitution. All parties should take note of this, especially the ANC who is always ready to point a finger at the government. Former Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani has just revealed that the worst atrocities took place in ANC concentration camps." "Amid other allegations there have also been reports of misuse of money in the ANC's Welfare Department, under the leadership of Mrs. Winnie Mandela." "These developments emphasize the importance of building checks and balances into the new constitution to prevent such abuses. Of prime importance is the limiting of power at central government level." "If the ANC, in the light of its own scarred history, does not agree to such preventative measures then it will be accused of wanting to repeat the mistakes of the past. This should not be allowed to happen."

KwaNdebele Leader on Role of Traditional Chiefs

92AF0822B Johannesburg *NEW NATION* in English
7 May 92 p 15

[Interview with KwaNdebele Chief Minister James Mahlangu—first paragraph is introduction; boldface and italicised words as published; place and date not given]

[Text] The role of traditional leaders—tribal chiefs and even kings—in a future democratic and industrialised South Africa remains unexplained by both the liberation movement and the traditional leaders themselves. *Face the Nation* discussed the matter with kwaNdebele Chief Minister James Mahlangu, who is a traditional leader and also the president of the Intando ye Sizwe Party, which is an ally of the liberation movement.

New Nation: How do you see the role of traditional leaders in a democratic and industrialised South Africa? Would there be any conflict of values?

James Mahlangu: Traditional leaders are mainly a unifying factor in a given society. They are able to bring people of different political aspirations together. And in our country we would need them to play this role even at the time when we have a multiparty democracy and an industrialised economy.

NN: How do you reconcile the role of being a "unifying factor" with the recent speculation that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa [Contralesa] will form a political party if they are not allowed at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]?

Mahlangu: Firstly, I do not support the idea of traditional leaders forming their own political party. That would bring about problems. Because as a political party, they would have to have their own policies and they would become contenders in the political field.

This would mean that chiefs in their areas would have to compete with parties that operate in those areas. That would further divide our people.

Their complaint that they were not being allowed full participation at Codesa is genuine, but it should be examined in a particular context.

My personal view is that traditional leaders should take part at Codesa, but not as full participants. They can be there as observers or playing the role of advisers of the various political parties taking part at Codesa.

Codesa is a debating forum. Now if we say that the king of the Zulus, for example, should be there as a full delegate and he makes a certain suggestion and the rest of the participants reject it, will that not be understood as undermining the authority of the king?

NN: You are the leader of the Intando ye Sizwe Party, but on the other hand you and members of your cabinet are card-carrying members of the ANC. How do you explain the dual membership?

Mahlangu: Firstly, our party, Intando ye Sizwe, is an ally of the ANC and we have realised that our aims and objectives are almost the same as those of the ANC.

However, we have taken the position that we should maintain our identity as a party, but have a friendly and strong relationship with the ANC. Hence we see no contradiction in our members being card-carrying members of the ANC.

NN: But how would that alliance function in the event of an election, in which the ANC would also participate? Would your members campaign under your party's banner or under that of the ANC?

Mahlangu: We would campaign under our party's banner, because we have a mandate to do so from the people who have elected us to the leadership positions that we presently hold.

But certainly the relationship that we have with the ANC would not allow us to place a candidate in a constituency where the ANC has appointed a candidate. So some mechanism to avoid us and the ANC having to fight each other in an election would have to be worked out.

NN: How do you see the future of Intando ye Sizwe beyond the homeland system?

Mahlangu: Intando ye Sizwe was not established as a homeland parliament party. It was operating outside the kwaNdebele legislative assembly for a long time. It is only recently that we felt that, since most of its members were in the legislative assembly, we should actually transform it into a parliamentary party.

So, the party has existed outside the homeland parliament and would continue to exist after the parliament has ceased to exist.

But as you can see, there is now the Patriotic Front, where parties and organisations that share the same ideals and objectives come together. One cannot rule out the possibility of some realignment of some kind in the future. But that would certainly be dictated by conditions in a given time in the history of our country.

NN: One problem that has existed in several homelands, where there are political parties which are allies of the ANC, is that while there are good relations at the leadership level, there have been clashes on the ground. Why is that so in your area?

Mahlangu: We have never had any clashes with any structures of the ANC in our area. What has happened is that there are individuals who may or may not be members of the ANC, but use the ANC's name to settle any personal scores they may have with members of Intando ye Sizwe.

We have in some instances ascertained that some of these elements are not even members of the ANC and are

being used by the regime to sow confusion among people. But we have dealt with them and we have never had any serious problems.

*** MK Chief Profiled; Discusses New Role**

92AF0824A Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 30 Apr-7 May 92 p 7

[Profile of Siphiwe Nyanda by Paul Stober]

[Text] Within the limits of his position as acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe [MK], Siphiwe Nyanda tries to break from the rhetoric which often marks the comments of other African National Congress militants.

Rather than just condemning police raids which have resulted in the arrest of a number of MK militants and the seizure of MK arms caches, Nyanda is practical about the clampdown: "In the D.F. Malan and Pretoria accords, the police never promised not to arrest people who are armed. We have acknowledged we have arms caches, the people holding our caches know they can be arrested and we are not grumbling about it."

These are not just casual comments from a leader safely based in the ANC's [African National Congress] headquarters in central Johannesburg. While details of his military record remain scarce, Nyanda—or "Gabuza" as he was known in exile—was involved in a number of the ANC's military operations in South Africa while the organisation was banned.

Originally from Natal, he left the country in 1976 and received military training in the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Later, he emerged as a key figure in the ANC's political-military committee in Swaziland, which controlled MK operations in Natal and the Transvaal. Nyanda's commander for most of this time, ANC national executive member Ebrahim Ebrahim, describes him as being disciplined, efficient and "having the respect of those who served under him."

While serving in Swaziland, he narrowly escaped being kidnapped by South African Defence Force [SADF] agents. His wife, commander and brother were not so lucky: his wife and Ebrahim were both kidnapped, forced to stand trial in South Africa and imprisoned. His brother was killed, allegedly a victim of an SADF hit squad.

In 1987, when Joe Slovo relinquished his position as chief-of-staff, Nyanda first became eligible for the position he now holds. In a book by Stephen Ellis and Tsolo Sechaba—a pseudonym for a member of the ANC and South African Communist Party [SACP]—it is alleged he was passed over due to a feud between MK leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise. According to the book, Hani prevented Nyanda's appointment because he was seen as a Modise supporter.

Nyanda disputes this version of the events, saying: "I was unavailable for the position as I had been assigned to Operation Vula."

Operation Vula was a secret project, directly under the control of then- ANC president Oliver Tambo, aimed at strengthening the organisation's underground structures inside South Africa. Nyanda infiltrated the country in 1988 and remained underground until the operation was uncovered in a blaze of publicity.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, the project was discovered by "bad luck" rather than police work. Nyanda was arrested in Natal but released in terms of the Groote Schuur agreement between the government and the ANC.

Nyanda is confident about his ability to move from field operations to the duties of chief-of-staff. These duties include developing a strategy to counter the problems facing the returning army and the administration of its members in camps flung across Africa and in South Africa's townships. "I have experience as chief-of-staff for the Transvaal region," he explains.

Nyanda identifies his main objective as reorientating MK from a guerrilla army to a regular army and building the political structures of the ANC.

He dismisses conventional military wisdom which claims the size, professionalism and equipment of the SADF will prevent MK from making an impact on existing military structures. "The SADF cannot be the sole building block of a national defence force. We have

sent people for training along regular lines for when integration takes place," he says.

However, Nyanda stresses MK's political role: "Our national conference said it is the role of the army to help establish the ANC using our experience in building organisational structures."

Describing MK's military role as secondary, he includes the establishment of defence units in its functions which, he adds, "have very little to do with firearms."

Despite the secondary nature of its military functions, Nyanda does not agree that MK is a political liability to the ANC which provides the government with an excuse to stall at the negotiation table. "MK will not dissolve as a matter of principle," he says.

The announcement of steps by the government to ban private armies does not perturb Nyanda. "There are discussions going on between the ANC and the government about private armies and if this legislation presents a danger to MK, we will regard it as provocative," he warns.

Referring to the progress in the bilateral meetings, he said: "I cannot say we have reached a point where problems are about to be solved."

Comparisons between the relatively unknown Nyanda and his high profile predecessor, SACP general secretary Chris Hani, are inevitable. Like Hani, Nyanda is an SACP member, but as Ebrahim points out, it is unfair to compare the two. "Hani is a top leader from the 1960s," he points out. "Siphiwe is from the '76 generation."

Angola

Minister on Registration Process, State Authority

MB0206115392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Report on statements by Territorial Administration Minister Paulo Kassoma; place and date not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Territorial Administration Minister Paulo Kassoma has expressed optimism about the success of the electoral registration.

[Kassoma] "Personally, I believe that the registration will be completed effectively, within the timeframe set by the National Electoral Council [CNE]. Obviously, we will have some difficulties. Some have only just arisen. For instance, we have received reports from Maquela do Zombo that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is registering voters without the participation of any duly appointed officials. That is being done without the presence of registration teams and government officials.

"We have also heard that in Cuanza Norte Province, UNITA is doing the same thing under the guise of a census.

"Nevertheless, I believe that the registration process will be seriously implemented and will be concluded by 31 July, the date set by the CNE."

The Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] will soon make a final decision on the extension of state administration to the districts and communes where government authority has not yet been restored.

[Kassoma] "Regarding the extension of state administration, I have also set 20 June as the date for the completion of that task. The issue was discussed at length at the last CCPM session. I was confident at the end of that session because at least UNITA showed its willingness to prevent the disruption of the extension of state administration by its members. We feel that obstacles like mined roads and destroyed bridges will not prevent the extension of state administration."

It is believed that thousands of voters have already registered throughout the country since 20 May. The CNE will meet tomorrow to assess the first two weeks of the registration campaign. So far, electoral councils have already been sworn in in all provinces, except Zaire Province.

Gen Ndalu on Single Army, Financial Problems

MB3005075392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 May 92

[Report on interview with General Franca Ndalu, government representative to the Joint Political and Military Commission, by unidentified reporter in Luanda on 29 May; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] Angola should have 40,000 men in the Army, 6,000 in the Air Force, and 4,000 in the Navy before the September elections. Generals Franca Ndalu and Lukamba Gato, representatives respectively of the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to the Joint Political and Military Commission, today visited two Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] installations in Luanda, namely the Grafanil Higher Military Institute and the Higher Logistical Command [words indistinct], to familiarize themselves with the Army training process. The process of establishing a single national army is progressing well, despite various continuing difficulties.

[Ndalu] By election time, we should have a single army, the FAA, in the country. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola will have to disappear. That has been guaranteed [words indistinct].

[Reporter] You have also talked about financial problems. Have they been resolved?

[Ndalu] No, we continue to experience financial difficulties. We are gradually overcoming them, but not as fast as we would wish. All the same, we are still trying to resolve this problem; otherwise we shall find it very difficult to finish repairing all the barracks. There are many barracks that must be repaired, not only here in Luanda, but in almost all the provinces in which the FAA will be stationed.

Ex-UNITA Officer Names Leaders of New Group

MB3005123392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 May 92

[Excerpt] Abel Coje, one of the first officers of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola to leave the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], says he has now joined the UNITA Democratic Reflection Tendency Group.

[Begin Coje recording] An UNITA Democratic Reflection Tendency Group has been established as a group within UNITA. Its officials include Dr. Paulo Chipilika who is the coordinator, General Miguel N'zau Puna, Tony da Costa Fernandes, Jose Ndele, Antonio Morais, and Almira Chipilika. These people make up the present leadership of the Tendency. We have many [words indistinct]. We have sympathizers and militants both inside and outside the country. The government must accept that we exist. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Mozambique

Talks Held With Visiting Chilean Delegation

MB3005184092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] Delegations from the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party and the Chilean Socialist Party

held bilateral talks in Maputo today. The Mozambican team was led by Frelimo Party Secretary General Feliciano Gundana and the Chilean team by Jaime Toha, a member of the Chilean Socialist Party Central Committee. Toha, who is also the Chilean minister for industry and energy, began an official three-day visit to our country yesterday at the invitation of the Mozambican authorities.

The Chilean delegation's visit is aimed at identifying specific areas for bilateral cooperation in the field of energy.

Namibia

2 Jun Press Review on SWAPO's Activities

MB0206120892

[Editorial Report]

DIE REPUBLIKEIN

Editorial Views SWAPO Pre-Independence Activities— "The admission by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in the National Assembly that it was responsible for the 1982 murder of DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] President Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba should not be treated as old news. It is not," notes an editorial in Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 27 May. "For the past 10 years SWAPO has been telling its international donors and its supporters

that the landmine that killed Pastor Ndjoba was planted by the security forces at that time." "The admission by the former acting president of SWAPO and also former member of the South African Railway Police, Mr. Nathaniel Maxuili, has also lifted the veil from a few other outstanding issues." "SWAPO's insatiable thirst for power has never been better illustrated than in the famous Cliff Saunders interview in which the party leader and president of Namibia, Mr. Sam Nujoma, said in New York that SWAPO is not interested in power sharing, but in total power. And now? Now it is sharing power with six other political parties, and with such a small majority that even its closest allies are not interested in this country, being sold to international councils as the region with fabulous wealth and unlimited opportunities." "In a series of senseless attacks SWAPO targeted the infrastructure over which it would rule after independence."

Zambia

Chiluba Departs on Two-Week European Tour

MB0206070492 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 2 Jun 92

[Text] President Chiluba left for Europe last night on a two-week working visit that will take him to Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Britain. Mr. Chiluba's visit is aimed at encouraging foreign investment and will also [words indistinct] Zambia's diplomatic relations with the international community.

Burkina Faso

President Compaore on ODP-MT Election Victory

AB0106165092 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0700 GMT 30 May 92

[Text] The level of election fever has fallen to zero, and the results are in. It is now time to hear everyone's reactions. In an interview with the media, the Burkinabe president highlighted the calm and serene atmosphere in which the elections took place. President Blaise Compaore also described the landslide victory of the Organization for Popular Democracy-Labor Movement [ODP-MT], 78 seats out of 107, as a victory for the progressive forces. He said the victory is not surprising.

[Begin recording] [Compaore] Looking at the results of the presidential elections, it is obvious that the progressive forces will be in the majority in the National Assembly. In other words, as we wait for confirmation from the proper authorities, that is, the Supreme Court, these results definitively reflect the strength of the different political parties in this country.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, just the same, the fairness of these elections has been questioned by some political parties. What is your opinion?

[Compaore] I believe when one is a democrat.... [Compaore pauses] You see, if one has participated in writing a constitution, in establishing an electoral body and various mechanisms for competition among parties; if one has supervised the electoral process with all the protective measures in place, then with reference to the events of 1970-78, we can say that there has been great progress in limiting our inadequacies. Today, according to many observers and even political party leaders, these polls had very few serious irregularities [words indistinct]. For them, these measures must try to maintain conditions of openness and normalcy. As a democrat, I believe that one must accept these results and not give causes that [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Ghana

Electoral Law Amended; Nkrumah Expels Leader

AB0206105592 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 1 Jun 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Ghana's PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] government has announced changes to the controversial political parties law which has been at the center of a major dispute with the opposition over the past two weeks. Last week, a high court judge said he could not order the PNDC to change the law, placing a limit of under \$500 on the amounts individuals can give to political parties. New parties are in the process of being formed after the lifting of the 10-year ban last

month, but now the government has announced an amendment to the law, as Ajoa-Yeboah Afari reports in this telex from Accra:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The attorney general and secretary of state for justice, Mr. E.G. Tanoh, said in a statement to the press that the law on individual contributions has been amended to empower the Interim National Electoral Commission to set a new limit. He emphasized, however, that the new limit will only apply to ordinary members of a party as well as to members of the public. Founding members, under the electoral law, can contribute any amount and the law requires a minimum of 110 such members.

On the issue of the ban on the use of old party names and symbols, there is no change. The attorney general said the ban is justified on the grounds of precedents as well as the maintenance of law and order. The amendment is very welcome news to the opposition. This afternoon, their principal counsel in the court case, Nana Akuffo-Addo, who is also a leading member of the Danquah-Busia Club, told me that most in the opposition feel the government has done the right thing in making the amendment. He said it is partial victory. We have got them to back down for once.

Meanwhile, the Electoral Commission chairman, Mr. Justice Ofori-Boateng, told me he is in the process of contacting the various groups to discuss the new limit with them, with the aim of arriving at a reasonably satisfactory limit.

In another development, the standing committee of the United Nkrumah Family, representing various groups who follow the teachings of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, over the weekend announced the expulsion of Dr. Hilla Limann, former president of the last civilian government. A statement signed by two of the leading lights of the Nkrumah Family explained that the expulsion was their response to Dr. Limann's announcement last Friday [29 May] that he had formed a new party which he would lead. Already, observers are beginning to see trouble brewing over the similarity in the colors and symbols of the proposed Limann Party and the proposed Nkrumah Family Party. [end recording]

Guinea

Opposition Leader Makes 'Triumphant' Return Home

AB0106115092 Libreville Africa No 1 in French 0730 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] Opposition leader Alpha Conde has made a triumphant return to Guinea. Three thousand people, according to observers, and 5,000, according to organizers, gathered at Conakry-Gbessia Airport to welcome the secretary general of the Guinean People's Rally.

Alpha Conde stated upon his arrival that he was returning to his country in the national interest.

Liberia

Sierra Leonean Official Meets ECOMOG Head

AB2905163092 *Monrovia Radio ELBC in English*
0900 GMT 29 May 92

[Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander has been briefing the vice chairman of the National Provisional Ruling Council of Sierra Leone, Lieutenant S.A.J. Musa, on activities and problems of the peacekeeping force in Liberia. A (?Liberian newspaper) yesterday said that the briefing took place at the ECOMOG headquarters where the Sierra Leonean vice head of state arrived on a ECOMOG helicopter on a visit to this country.

Welcoming Lt. Musa to Liberia, Gen. Bakut said it was a privilege for ECOMOG to receive at its headquarters for the first time a high-ranking official of that status and said that all ECOMOG troops, and particularly the Sierra Leonean contingent, were proud to receive him. The vice chairman and the ECOMOG field commander later had a closed-door meeting in Monrovia.

Lt. Musa, who once served under ECOMOG peace-keeping force, has also been meeting with the interim president Dr. Amos Sawyer. Yesterday's meeting was held behind closed doors and no details are available.

NPFL's Taylor on Submitting to People's Will

AB2905200592 *London BBC World Service in English*
1705 GMT 29 May 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia], has been having a big meeting this week at his headquarters in Gbarnga with politicians, church leaders, and others from Monrovia. They have been talking about Liberia's future and how to mend the split between Monrovia, where Amos Sawyer's interim government is located, and the rest of the country which is under Taylor's rule.

Well it seems progress was made with proposals for a merger between Taylor's assembly in Gbarnga and the assembly in Monrovia, possibly leading to an interim government before elections.

On the line, Robin White asked Charles Taylor when the merger process was likely to begin.

[Begin recording] [Taylor] I have recommended that discussions begin between the two assemblies immediately and there has been one meeting. I have sent members of my assembly to Monrovia already. They met a couple of weeks ago. We are expecting a delegation to turn up. Then, I am more than sure with the direction

now a way our people have believed, indeed they now believe in themselves. I think that they are going to come up with a solution. You know Liberians have this wonderful way of helping themselves and I am sure they would be...[pauses] they are prepared to do that right now.

[White] Now, a lot of people, lot of the politicians, at any rate in Monrovia, have not totally trusted you by any means. Having met you, do you think they have more trust in you or not?

[Taylor] I think that the trust is growing. Most of these men we know, we have all worked together; in fact the chairman of this conference, is a man that I have known for many, many years who represented Mr. Bacchus Matthews here in the person of Mr. Blamo Nelson, most of the other people coming [words indistinct] who are here to represent Dr. Sawyer is a young man, have known for a very long time, and I guess they are beginning to see the seriousness of our position as peacemakers. And I guess Liberians ought to be proud of themselves that they are beginning to find a Liberian solution to the Liberian problem, not a concocted solution from outside.

[White] Now, I understand that you are scheduled to meet interim President Sawyer. When is that meeting going to take place? You are going to meet him in Monrovia, I understand?

[Taylor] Well, I am not sure it is going to be in Monrovia. Monrovia is still, you know, a very tricky place and you should know that there are a lot of grenades and bombings and all this kind of stuff. We are hoping that we can get together within the next couple of weeks.

[White] The problem in the past has always been, Mr. Taylor, that you have insisted on being interim president. Have you now decided or you are prepared to give in on this one?

[Taylor] I have always said I would be a candidate, a very strong candidate. But I would submit to the wishes and will of the Liberian people. That has not changed, and will not change. We believe that the people should be the ultimate judge and those of us that claim to love this nation must submit to will of the people. I will do that. [end recording]

NPFL Meeting Ends; Communique Issued

AB0106183092 *Monrovia Radio ELBC in English*
0900 GMT 1 Jun 92

[Text] The NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] special leadership meeting has ended in Gbarnga, Bong County, with the signing of a joint communique.

The communique calls for the provision of food, clothing, medication, and education for all combatants. It also called on ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to

effectively maintain peace between the warring factions and prevent further incursion into Liberia.

It also called for the setting up of a national elections monitoring group, stressing that all political parties should have equal access to the media and be able to operate without intimidation. The communique also called for the setting up of joint economic, health, education, and repatriation commissions.

NPFL Official on Killing of ECOMOG Soldiers

*AB0206105992 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 1 Jun 92*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Foreign soldiers have been killed in Liberia for the first time since ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] troops started to deploy in NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] territory last month. Yesterday, on this program, we reported that three Senegalese troops had been killed in a shoot-out with Charles Taylor's NPFL men in Lofa County, near the border with Sierra Leone. The deaths are said to have followed a lengthy gun battle. On the line to NPFL headquarters at Gbarnga, Robin White put it to Charles Taylor's spokesman, Garswa Yarmeto, that the incident was a disastrous blunder.

[Begin recording] [Yarmeto] Certainly, Robin, it is most unfortunate. As a result of a breakdown in communication that this incident occurred. [sentence as heard]

[White] But you say a breakdown in communication. What exactly happened according to you?

[Yarmeto] Well, precisely what happened is that the Senegalese contingent or some of the men had gone on to a marketplace in rural Liberia, they are based near the site for marketing, to go and buy produce, and when the Senegalese moved in, they moved in with some of their [word indistinct] vehicles mounted with heavy weapons. And they had all of the light M-16 weapons in the marketplace, and the SOP, that is the special operational order, a procedure, does not encourage soldiers going into these marketplaces among civilians with arms. There, our commander met them and told them that look, this is in violation of the SOP. You are not allowed to carry weapons around here. And so, the Senegalese did not want to yield, you know, to the advice of our men, and so what happened? Our commander went and reported the matter to the Senegalese commander who, as a matter of fact, felt that he was to move in and, you know, have his will done. And so when they got in there with an additional manpower of 60 individuals, 60 troops, the scuffle began and resulted in the exchange of fire. So we say it is unfortunate, this breakdown in communication, and we hope it doesn't happen any more.

[White] Now what is the situation in this town at this moment. Is it still tense there?

[Yarmeto] The president, His Excellency Charles Gankay Taylor, immediately intervened after we got the communication, and everything was brought under control. It is calm and the bodies of the dead ECOMOG soldiers have been evacuated since by helicopter, and everything is under perfect control and if our dead soldiers as a matter of fact, we also lost some men in this scuffle. [sentence as heard]

[White] How many men did you lose?

[Yarmeto] We lost pretty close to about six soldiers.

[White] Now, doesn't this incident show that your men are just not under proper control as they go shooting at ECOMOG soldiers?

[Yarmeto] No, we did not go shooting at ECOMOG soldiers, but there was just a breakdown in communication at the marketplace.

[White] But haven't you, possibly, wrecked the whole process?

[Yarmeto] No, we have not wrecked the whole process. All over the world, even in Lebanon and other places where peacekeeping exercises have been carried out, these minor incidents have always happened. This is a completely isolated incident that happened. It happened in Lebanon, it happened in Chad, it happened just right here [word indistinct] in Eritrea and other places, even right now in Bosnia where the UN peacekeeping force had to pull out. And so it has not wrecked our exercises toward peace in this country.

[White] But aren't Senegalese soldiers in ECOMOG now going to be pretty wary of you and, even perhaps, come in looking for you?

[Yarmeto] Are you suggesting that ECOMOG is about to launch an attack on the NPFL or on the people of this country? Well, then, it is most unfortunate. The very best thing for any sensible and responsible individual to do right now is to continue the dialogue, continue to talk and to rule out violence as we believe that peace is very very very much in sight and so nothing should be done to wreck the process. [end recording]

ULIMO Commander Killed in Sierra Leone

*AB0206123592 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 2 Jun 92*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] The split in ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia], the rebel Liberian movement based in Sierra Leone, between the leader Raleigh Seekie and the new breakaway faction led by Alhaji Koromah, has taken a new turn with the assassination of an ULIMO leader on Monday this week. The commander who called himself General Robert Karpeh, was a former Liberian ambassador to Sierra Leone, was killed in Kenema, in Sierra Leone's Eastern Province. He

was on the side of Raleigh Seekie. Well, Alhassan Sylla who lives not far from Kenema, in Bo, has been investigating Gen. Karpeh's death. On the line to Bo last night, Faruk Chotier asked him what he had found out about the incident.

[Begin recording] [Sylla] Well, my information is that, about 10 AM yesterday morning, a group of unknown gunmen burst into the house in the town of Kenema in eastern Sierra Leone of General Karpeh, shot him several times, and his body was later found bullet-ridden and he was pronounced dead at the time.

[Chotier] Was he shot in fighting between rival factions of ULIMO?

[Sylla] Karpeh was shot right in his home and there had never been any fighting between the two groups before now. What we know however is that there has been some bitter kind of rivalry between two ULIMO factions that have been split over leadership of the military.

[Chotier] And so he was killed as the result of the power struggle within ULIMO?

[Sylla] Yes, indeed. And this could have represented a climax in this struggle that has been going on over the last few weeks. And one can imagine that a thing like this to happen in a rebel organization spells doom for that organization and the general feeling here, as at now, is that perhaps ULIMO is heading for the worst.

[Chotier] Now, did Sierra Leone Government soldiers intervene after Gen. Karpeh was assassinated?

[Sylla] Well, they did, and according to sources in Kenema, they did very, very promptly. No sooner than word got round that this had happened than the Sierra Leonean soldiers went all around the place disarming every other ULIMO soldier for fear of their bitterness escalating into something else.

[Chotier] Have the soldiers arrested anyone or are they in hot pursuit of anyone?

[Sylla] Well, as far as my information goes, no arrests have been made but the latest I had just before I came on the telephone is that one senior ULIMO military commander, known simply here as Babangida, is being sought after. I gather he was in hiding somewhere in Bo here and when the military checked for him there, he appeared to have fled but a hot pursuit is now out for him.

[Chotier] What is the situation in Kenema now?

[Sylla] Well, initially, as at yesterday morning, when news of the shooting came out, people were naturally panicked. People ran helter-skelter; some shops were said to have closed down but within two hours, according to my sources, the Sierra Leonean military had contained the situation and life had returned almost to normal. In any case I must point out that according to one source, there was talk of another faction of the ULIMO forces wanting to mount a counteroffensive, but

soldiers of the Sierra Leone Army mounted an antiaircraft gun right at the middle of Kenema to forestall any such thing. But as at now, I do not think any other further destruction has taken place.

[Chotier] Now, Gen. Karpeh, do you have any idea from which faction of ULIMO he comes from?

[Sylla] Well, I cannot put my bet to it, but what I do know briefly is that Gen. Karpeh served as the late Samuel Doe's ambassador here to Sierra Leone. Well, at the outbreak of the civil war in Liberia, it would appear that he was part of the faction supposed to be siding Alhaji Koromah, and Alhaji Koromah and another leader, Raleigh Seekie, appeared to have had a bitter rivalry in the organization. I think this thing that happened yesterday represents a turning point in the rivalry. [end recording]

Niger

Cabinet Favors Dialogue Despite Rebel Attacks

AB0106181592 Niamey *Voix du Sahel* Network
in French 1200 GMT 29 May 92

[Excerpts] A Cabinet meeting was held yesterday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou. Many items were on the agenda and for more details, let us listen to Albert Wright, the government spokesman.

[Begin Wright recording] [passage omitted] Concerning domestic security, on the night of 24 May, Bankilare subdistrict was attacked by armed men. This attack, unfortunately, resulted in the death of one gendarme and the wounding of two persons. It has not been established whether the attackers, who apparently came from Mali, are linked to the rebels located in the Air region.

At the Arlit-Akouta Mining Company, three unidentified individuals stole a Toyota vehicle on the morning of 25 May. The security forces, following the tracks left by the vehicle and the thieves, spotted the thieves' refuge in a ward in Agadez. The ward was then cordoned off by the security forces, who systematically searched the houses, despite insults from angry inhabitants of the ward. The identity check was pursued nevertheless and it helped in the arrest of a suspect, who had previously been arrested and released in connection with an affair linked to the rebels.

Despite those incidents during this truce period, the government hereby reiterates its pledge to prioritize dialogue and negotiations in seeking solutions to this painful rebellion problem involving some of our compatriots with the view to restoring just and lasting peace. The government, therefore, calls on the people to remain calm and collected during the entire negotiation process. Of course, such a process cannot be incident-free and the contribution as well as understanding of all will be necessary to complete it successfully.

Concerning families of the hostages, the government assures them that according to information furnished recently by the rebels' representatives, all the hostages are safe and sound. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nigeria

Babangida Urges Security To Remain Alert

*AB3005185492 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 30 May 92*

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida has charged security agents to be on the alert to ensure that the recent violent disturbances in parts of the country do not repeat themselves.

General Babangida gave the directive in Port-Harcourt today while addressing members of the Armed Forces, police, customs, and immigration at the end of his four-day visit to Rivers State. The president told the security agents that the Federal Government would take care of their welfare as a way of encouraging them to put in their best. He said the presidential and National Assembly elections would soon be held to mark the end of the transition program.

Gen. Babangida urged the members of the Armed Forces to live in peace with members of the various communities as partners in the progress of the nation.

Explains Siad Barre's Asylum

*AB3005191092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 30 May 92*

[Excerpt] The Federal Government has explained that it granted temporary asylum to the former Somali president, Mohamed Siad Barre, in the spirit of African brotherhood.

Speaking at a news conference in Port Harcourt today, to round off his four-day working visit to Rivers State, President Ibrahim Babangida said it would have been non-African to refuse such a gesture to an African on his continent.

He disclosed that the former Somali leader was now making contacts with other countries where he would stay permanently. [passage omitted]

Sierra Leone

Nigerian Envoy Denies Troop Involvement in War

*AB0106122592 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
1830 GMT 31 May 92*

[Text] Nigeria's high commissioner in Freetown, its ambassador, Alhaji Mohammed Abubakar, said today that Nigerian troops in Sierra Leone would not be actually involved in fighting rebels. This statement comes in the wake of persistent rumors that Nigerian troops, based in Sierra Leone for the past 13 months, might intervene in the next few days against guerrillas of the Revolutionary United Front, a rebel movement backed and trained by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

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